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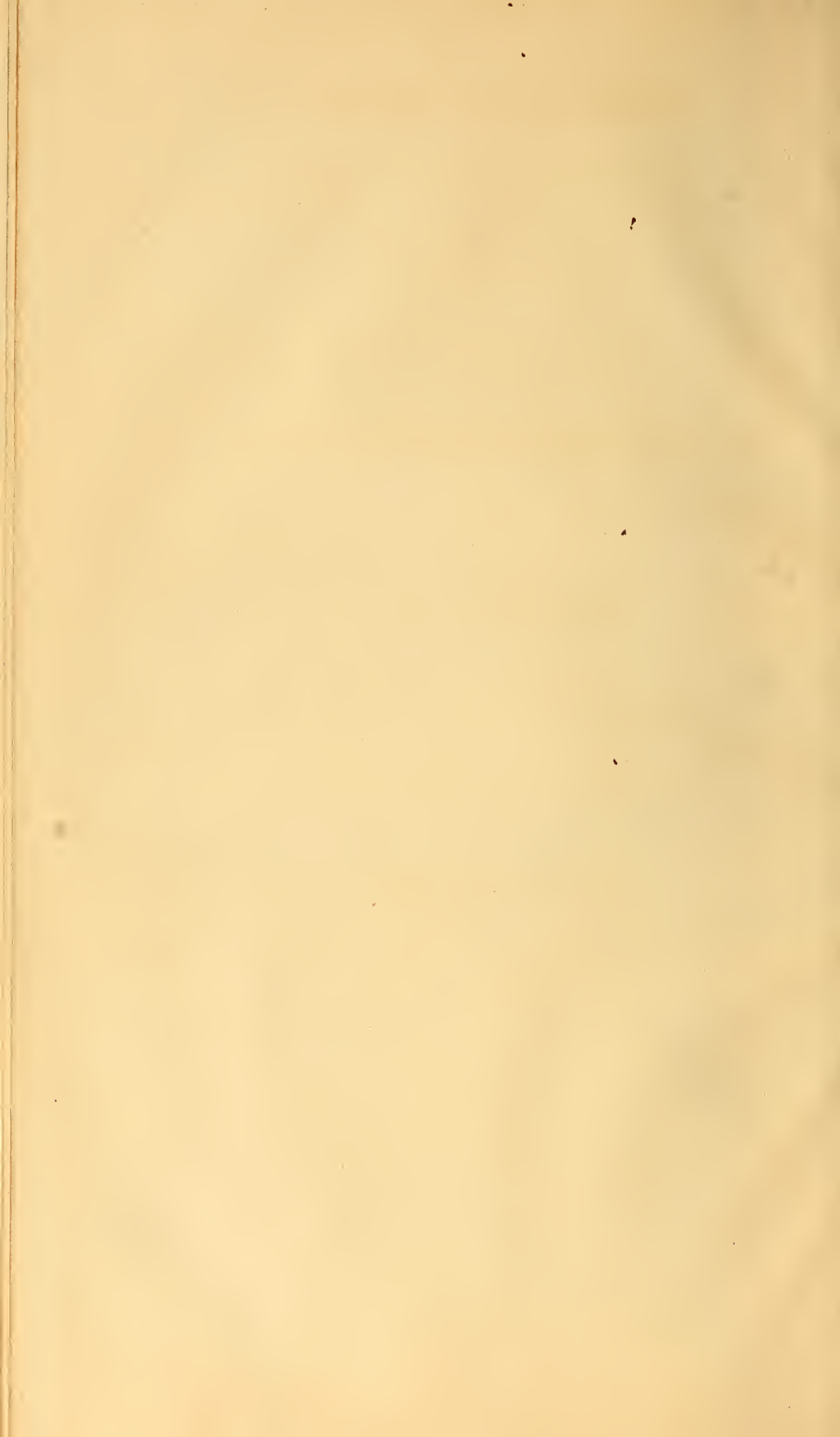
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.







PROCEEDINGS AND SPEECHES

AT A

MEETING FOR THE PROMOTION

OF THE

CAUSE OF TEMPERANCE,

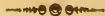
IN THE

UNITED STATES,

HELD AT

THE CAPITOL, IN WASHINGTON CITY,

February 24, 1833.



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Mr 132 318

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

On application by the Honorable RICHARD M. JOHNSON, member of Congress from Kentucky, the House of Representatives granted the use of the Hall for the purpose of holding a meeting on the evening of the 24th instant, for the PROMOTION OF THE CAUSE OF TEMPERANCE IN THE UNITED STATES. Pursuant to public notice, the meeting assembled; and at seven o'clock P. M. was called to order by the Honorable FELIX GRUNDY, United States Senator from Tennessee, who moved that the HONORABLE LEWIS CASS, Secretary of War, take the Chair. The Honorable GIDEON TOMLINSON, United States Senator from Connecticut, moved that the Honorable JOHN BLAIR, member of Congress from Tennessee, be appointed Secretary of the meeting. The Rev. *William Hammet*, Chaplain to the House of Representatives, addressed the Throne of Grace; after which, the Chairman delivered the following address:

I have been requested to introduce the proceedings of the evening, and to explain the objects of this assemblage, and the views and motives of those who have called it. And I do this with the less reluctance, even in this hall of legislation, because the evils of intemperance, against which we are called to bear our testimony, and in the suppression of which our co-operation is demanded, have passed, like the blast of the desert, over this fair land.

Our Government rests upon public opinion, and public opinion, to be safe, must be virtuous, as well as enlightened. This magnificent depository of power would soon become as desolate as the monuments of departed freedom, which hallow, while they sadden, the fairest regions of the old world, if it were not guarded by the virtue and intelligence of the American people and their representatives. All, therefore, are interested in the great cause of public morals, and the united exertions of all may be demanded, whenever an important melioration is proposed in the condition of the community. The great avenues of communication diverge from this seat of empire to every section of our extensive republic, and the most salutary impression may, therefore, be here made upon the public mind by efforts, founded in benevolence and directed by wisdom.

And it is one of the great characteristics of the age in which we live, that men are now uniting for the accomplishment of ob

jects, upon which the peace and welfare of society must rest, with a firmness of resolution, a contempt of danger, a sacrifice of personal considerations, and a spirit of active benevolence, which offer the fairest prospects of success. The messengers of glad tidings are despatched through the world, carrying the word of life and light to the arctic and the torrid regions, to islands and continents, to Christian and Paynim; and already the song of triumph and gratitude is heard from the Eastern and the Southern oceans, and wherever the herald of the Cross has carried the name of the Redeemer and the great plan of salvation. Beautifully indeed has this scene been described by one, who, in faith and fervor, in principle and practice, approached the model of the primitive ages, and who was himself a martyr to these holy labors.

“From Greenland’s icy mountains,
From India’s coral strand,
Where Afric’s sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand,
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error’s chain.

What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o’er Ceylon’s isle;
Though ev’ry prospect pleases,
And only man is vile:
In vain with lavish kindness,
The gifts of God are strewn;
The heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone.

Shall we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we, to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation! Oh, Salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till each remotest nation
Has learnt Messiah’s name!

Waft, waft, ye winds, his story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole;
Till o’er our ransom’d nature,
The Lamb, for sinners slain,
Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss returns to reign.”

Associations are formed for the promotion of all the great objects of moral concern, to the attainment of which individual exertions would be inadequate, and where common means and com-

mon efforts can be used. For the propagation of the gospel, for the suppression of vice, for the education of youth, and generally for whatever can give knowledge to ignorance, stability to principle, or confidence to virtue. By this union, objects assume a greater magnitude. Efforts, upon an increased scale of usefulness, are planned and prosecuted for their attainment. The necessary funds are procured and expended. Emulation is excited, and pride and principle are brought to act in harmonious co-operation. Let no one condemn the means, and pronounce them insufficient for the end. Who shall limit the effect of human exertions, when directed to human improvement? In looking back upon the progress of society, how apparently slight do we find the causes, which have produced the most lasting impressions upon the family of man. I need not seek to illustrate the observation by examples. They abound in every page of history.

With similar views, societies have been instituted for the suppression of intemperance. Already their standards have been unfurled in the old and the new world, and able, zealous, and pious men have gathered round them and girded themselves for the combat. Let us trust in God, that the victory will be theirs. But the triumph will belong to human nature. Such a victory as no warrior ever gained, and such a triumph as the Imperial Republic, in the brightest days of her splendour, never decreed to the proudest of her victors.

The general statistics of intemperance I did not come here to collect and discuss. I have no disposition to count the number of ruined men, of wretched families, of lost estates, which this prevalent vice has occasioned in our country. It is an inquiry full of instruction, but full likewise of dismay. Calculations have been made, shewing the enormous quantity of ardent spirits annually made and consumed, and the waste of time and money entailed upon the community. It is difficult to appreciate the value of quantities and numbers, which are far beyond our accustomed range of observation. Their very immensity becomes overpowering. Ingenious men have, therefore, presented this subject in various aspects, that we may separately survey the members of a group, which collectively, is beyond the reach of our faculties. For the result, I must refer you to the many statements and expositions, which have appeared in the periodical publications of the day. You will find ample food for contemplation and regret. I cannot, however, but advert to one fact, which has been stated, and which will bring the subject to a standard, that is familiar to us. The excise, which is levied upon ardent spirits in England, furnishes the means of ascertaining the quantity that is sold. And notwithstanding the consumption there is far less, in proportion to the population, than here, yet it has been estimated that the quantity of gin alone annually consumed in that country, would form a river

three feet deep, fifty feet wide and five miles long. Well may such a stream be called the river of death! Death to our duties and hopes, to our health and happiness, to our fate and prospects, on this side of the grave and beyond it.

Appalling as such views are, they must be steadily regarded, if we are disposed to realize the extent of the calamity, or the necessity of exertion. In every section of the land, victims of intemperance are to be seen. In the cities, in the villages, in the fields, among the rich and the poor, ardent spirits, are every where found, and every where there are found men, who will sacrifice all considerations, temporal and eternal, to this indulgence. And not satisfied with these suicidal efforts, we have planted this Upas tree in the forests and prairies, wherever a remnant of the primitive people exist, to gather round its branches, to drink and die. The inheritance of their fathers has departed from many of them. But this is not the greatest misfortune which has befallen them. The white man has given them another inheritance. He has given them the means of intoxication, and the wish to indulge in it. Whoever has surveyed that portion of this unhappy race, in immediate contact with our frontiers, must be sensible of their degraded condition, and of the great moral responsibility we have yet to meet, for all that has been thus done and suffered. Let us hope, that these remnants of an injured and dispersed race will soon be gathered together, and established in security and comfort in a region, sufficiently fertile and extensive for them and theirs to the latest generations, and guarded by impassable barriers against the introduction of this destroyer of their happiness.

In looking upon the practical operation of this habit upon society, it is difficult to conceive how any man can put such "an enemy into his mouth to steal away his brain." And yet neither genius, knowledge, fame, nor power, have always shielded their possessors from its first approach and final conquest. They may have struggled and probably did. But many of them have fallen, monuments of human weakness and human instability. It were inviolous to point out the stars in our constellations of patriots and statesmen, of learned and elevated men, which have been obscured or extinguished by this moral darkness. Names, that would have been "familiar to us all as household words," and would have gone down to posterity, honored and regarded, are now remembered, but "to point a moral or adorn a tale."

And what motive can operate upon human nature, with sufficient force, to produce these consequences. To induce us to disregard all the warning considerations which are in ceaseless operation, appealing to the head and the heart, to the present and the future, to time and eternity? Can it be the momentary pleasure of drinking, or the momentary excitement it produces? The

wretch, who set fire to the pride of Ephesus, that he might earn for himself an immortality of infamy, acted a rational part, when compared with him, who sacrifices himself at the shrine of unhallowed appetite. But these excitements, joyous and desirable as they appear, are always purchased at a high price. It is a law of our nature, impressed for wise purposes upon the system, that alternations of excitement and exhaustion should succeed each other. The vibrations are equal, or rather the amount of pain far exceeds that of enjoyment. If to day we yield to stimulating pleasures, we contract a debt, which to-morrow must pay. Were neither physical nor moral evils entailed upon us by vicious indulgence, there would still be nothing gained by yielding to it.—The balance of enjoyment would at best be stationary; and not merely stationary—for the possession of undisturbed faculties and of regulated affections is far better than the revels of the night, and the despondency of the day. But this is a very partial view of the subject. No man can indulge in this habit with impunity. Begin as he will, he may go on increasing. What is now enough to produce the desired effect, may soon become insufficient and inoperative. The quantity must be increased, and the intervals diminished. The necessary tone can be preserved only by gradual additions, and then comes all the train of evils, which marks decaying faculties and a ruined constitution. All who have eyes to see, must have seen them. They need no description here. Unfortunately, they are too common, and too disgusting, to require or to admit enumeration in such a place as this. If, in the whole creation of God, there is one object, more than all others, to be pointed at by the finger of scorn, it is he who abandons himself, and all he has and expects, to this destructive propensity. The animals around us, ministering to human comfort; every being into which the creator has breathed the breath of life, all fulfil their destinies, and perform the parts allotted to them; while man, man alone, placed immeasurably above them, reduces himself far below, renounces the high duties assigned to him, and perishes miserably, hopelessly. Were the wreck thus cast upon the strand of life, solitary and unconnected, much as we might deplore the evil, there would be less to regret than at present. But these unhappy men are united to society by all the ties which bind society together. They are sons, or brothers, or husbands, or fathers. With what little remorse the duties of these relations are disregarded, the experience of every day sufficiently demonstrates. The husband and father seeks in unhallowed pleasures, those enjoyments his own home would furnish. The means, which should be destined to the support of his wife and children, are dissipated. His time is consumed, his usefulness destroyed, his temper and habits ruined, and all, who depend upon him, share in the calamity. Look at our courts of jus-

tice, our houses of correction, our places of imprisonment. We shall find that the vice of intemperance is the root from which springs most of the evil, these institutions are designed to prevent or punish. The moral faculties are blunted by pernicious habits, and all the pride of character annihilated. Wayward passions are let loose, and crime follows crime, until the day of retribution arrives. And of all who are thrown upon public charity by the accidents of life, there are few indeed, whose misfortunes may not be traced to their own habits of inebriation, or to those of their kindred, who by nature and law are required to provide for and protect them. The child is thus involved in the consequences of the parent's guilt, and scenes of depravity are the examples by which he is taught his own duty, and a father's principles.

Who can cast his eyes abroad upon the fair prospects our country presents, and not rejoice that his lot has been cast in this land of freedom? But with abundant cause for exertion and gratulation, we can claim no superiority over the other nations of the earth in this great characteristic of modern degeneracy. Indeed, we have the concurrent testimony of our countrymen, who have visited other regions of the world, fortified by the statistical details which have been collected and published, that there are many countries where this vice is much less prevalent than here. Whence this unfortunate difference? There is no want of intelligence, virtue, or religion among us, and the energy and efficacy of public opinion are demonstrated in every page of our history. Industry is here free from legal restraints, and enterprize from the bonds of opinion; and both are sure of their reward. What then sends our countrymen from their proper employments, from the office, the shop and the field, to scenes of dissipation and the haunts of vice?—From abundance to poverty, from happiness to misery, from hope to despair? Under less favorable circumstances, far different scenes are elsewhere exhibited. In the memorable contest of three days, which gave security to France, and hope and confidence to Europe, there is one incident recorded, not less honorable to the French character than the valor and patriotism so triumphantly displayed. It is said that during that memorable struggle, not a drunken person was seen in the streets of Paris. Gallant and generous nation! Wherever patriotic devotion and public morals are honored and esteemed, your conduct will be had in remembrance. In such days and nights of anxiety, alarm and exertion, few indeed are the villages in this land of freedom, which could make this boast. And have we not as much cause for public gratitude as the French people? Do we not enjoy as full a measure of equal rights, of national prosperity, of individual happiness?

And even in the regions of the east, where the crescent has supplanted the cross, and whence literature, science, and free-

dom have long been banished, this vice is unknown. The sensual paradise of Mahomet admits no inebriated person to its promised pleasures. And if the devout Moslem expects to share the company of the Houris in the land of spirits, he must refrain from the intoxicating bowl, which poisons while it exhilarates. Are we then, who are proud and may well be proud of the general intelligence which is spread through the country, and of the high privileges we enjoy, are we to place ourselves in the front rank of nations, and to bend the knee the lowest to this idol of a depraved appetite? To offer our fame and fortune and lives to this unhallowed Juggernaut, whose car is steeped in blood, and whose wheels have crushed more victims, than ever assembled between the Indus and the Ganges, to join the triumphal processions of these disgusting images, which ignorance and superstition have been taught to adore.

But let us hope, that a brighter day is opening upon us. The extent and consequences of this evil are now fully appreciated, and the conviction has spread far and wide, that the best interests of society require a vigorous and united effort for its suppression. A few years only have elapsed, since public attention was drawn to the subject. Some zealous individuals proposed the formation of societies for the prevention of intemperance, and labored long and successfully for their establishment. They had prejudices to encounter, interests to contend with, and inveterate habits to subdue. But they have seen the triumph of their principles and plans. Associations have been formed, both here and in Europe, for the accomplishment of this great object. And they are earnestly striving to arrest the march of those, who are on the road to destruction, and to fortify those, who are exposed to temptation. Destitute of all legal authority, their efforts are limited to persuasion, to conviction, to example. The most beneficial results have already followed their labors. The manufacture and consumption of ardent spirits have been reduced.— Many have been recalled to a better life and better prospects.— And what is far more important, experience has set its seal upon the value and practicability of the plan. Ebriety has ceased to be the standard of hospitality, nor does fashion require its votaries to convert scenes of rational conviviality into scenes of vice, and sometimes crime. I was forcibly impressed with the extent of this salutary change, when looking along a well filled table, during the past season, in one of our most splendid steam boats, those floating palaces which we owe to the genius and enterprize of Fulton, I perceived that not a drop of ardent spirits was placed upon the table, nor demanded by a traveller.

The voluntary engagements to abstain from the use of spirits, which are assumed by these associations, operate powerfully upon the members. Self respect and the pride of character are thus

brought to the aid of virtuous principles and just resolutions, frequently in a contest with habits and appetites, whose strength and power can only be fully known to those, who have yielded to their dominion. Such pledges are in themselves both virtuous and salutary. All societies, having just and definite objects must require the members to co-operate in their attainment. This condition is the very bond of their union, the life preserving principle, which gives and maintains their existence—and if any are saved by the obligations and associations thus assumed, as members of temperance societies, all who are co-laborers in the work, are entitled to commendation, and to the respect and gratitude of the community. Ask the father, who has seen the son of his age and hopes, qualified by nature, habit, and education, to perform an honorable and useful part on the stage of life; who has seen him abandon all these prospects, and become the slave of this most disgusting propensity, and the companion of all that is vile in the community; ask the father the value of an association, which will redeem the lost one from this thralldom, and restore him to society, to his friends, to himself. Ask the heart-broken wife, who has seen the partner of her cares, the father of her children forget all, abandon all, and ruin all that should be nearest and dearest to him, and seek pleasure in the abodes of vice and intoxication, ask her whether these labors of love and charity which pluck the brand from the burning, are useless and inoperative. Ask the children, whose father is a stranger to their love and affection, and who barter their happiness and his own for scenes of dissipation and intoxication, and let them calculate the value of redemption and their gratitude to those, who break his bonds and set the captive free. Ask society, whether the restoration to a useful and honorable life, of some of its most promising but once lost and unhappy members, is not a source of satisfaction and gratulation—and all this has been done and is now doing.

Who ventures to say, there is no cure for this malady of mind and body? No signal of safety, which can be lifted up, like the brazen serpent of old, and whereon the afflicted may look and be healed? No power of conscience—no regard for the present, no dread of the future, which can stay the progress of this desolating calamity? It is indeed a disorder, which falls not within the province of the physician. Empyricism has prescribed its remedies, and various nostrums have been administered, with temporary success, calculated to nauseate the patient, and thus by association, to create a revulsion of feeling. But little permanent advantage has attended this process. As the habit of intoxication, when once permanently engrafted on the constitution, affects the mind and body, both become equally debilitated. And restoration to health and self-possession can only be expected from a course of treatment, which shall appeal to all the better feelings of our nature, and which shall gradually lead the unhappy victim of his

passions to a better life and to better hopes. The pathology of the disease is sufficiently obvious. The difficulty consists in the entire mastery it attains, and in that morbid craving for the habitual excitement, which is said to be one of the most overpowering feelings that human nature is destined to encounter. This feeling is at once relieved by the accustomed stimulant, and when the result is not pleasure merely, but the immediate removal of an incubus, preying and pressing upon the heart and intellect, we cease to wonder that men yield to the palliative within their reach. That they drink and die. That often, in one brief night, they lie down in time and awaken in eternity.

But important to society as is the change from a life of vicious indulgence to one of temperance and virtue, in all those whose situation calls for this change, still this subject becomes unimportant, when compared with the ultimate object of those, who are prosecuting the warfare against this great enemy of the human race. They seek not only to cure the malady, but to render its recurrence impossible—to save all from the dangers which threaten them.—To prevent the abuse, by preventing the use, of stimulating liquors, and thus preparing the way for the entrance upon life, of a generation not exposed to this fatal temptation.

Let then one mighty effort be made, to banish from our land this bane of national and individual prosperity. Let there be a union of hearts and exertions. Experience and reflection will soon disclose the most practicable plan of effecting the object. Precept and example, when they go together, go far in their operation upon human affairs. Let them be here united. The nature and extent of the evil must be laid open to all. Such an effort would be a crusade, far holier than that which sent the nations of Christendom to the land of Judea, to seek through battle and slaughter the tomb of the Saviour. It would be a crusade of virtue against vice. An effort to give tone and strength to public sentiment, and to direct it to the attainment of one of the most important objects which remains to man to accomplish. Which would reduce the black catalogue of crimes and criminals, and give an entire new aspect to human affairs.

It is now conceded by the most profound observers, and the ablest writers, who have made this subject their study, that ardent spirits are never required in a state of health. They are not merely useless, but injurious. Ingenious physicians, who have watched their operation upon the human system, and with the express purpose of ascertaining whether their administration be proper in cases of exhaustion from cold or fatigue, have borne testimony to their utter inefficacy. Our eminent countryman, Doctor Rush, coincides in this opinion, and assert that a small quantity of food restores the system to its usual vigor, far better than these destructive stimulants, after it has been debilitated by exertion or

suffering. And in some of the most terrible shipwrecks, recorded in naval annals, it has been found that the persons, who refrained from the use of spirits, were better enabled to resist the calamities impending over them, than those who sought strength and consolation in this indulgence. Experience upon this subject is as decisive, as it is satisfactory. And in the disastrous retreat from Moscow, which broke the sceptre of Napoleon, and wrested the nations of Europe from his iron grasp, it is recorded by the historians of the expedition, that the soldiers, who were perfectly temperate, resisted the elemental war around them, when the general "pulse of life stood still," and when a scene was presented, which in terrible sublimity surpasses all that the wildest imagination has ever shadowed forth. When the spirit of the storm was abroad, and the chivalry of Europe fled or fell before the northern blast,

"Waint in his wounds, and shivering in the blast,
The (gallant) soldier sunk and groan'd his last,
File after file the stormy showers benumb,
Freeze every standard sheet, and hush the drum,
Horseman and horse confess the bitter pang,
And arms and warriors fall with hollow clang;
Yet ere he sank in nature's last repose,
Ere life's warm torrent to the fountain froze,
The dying man to (Gallia) turn'd his eye,
Thought of his home, and closed it with a sigh."

The experience of the civilized world, during the past year, furnishes another memorable lesson upon this deeply interesting subject. A lesson which, if properly appreciated, may well console us, for all the calamity with which it was accompanied. Who has forgotten that desolating pestilence, which, borne on the wings of the wind, traversed the old continent from the frontiers of China to the western limits of Europe! Vainly we hoped the Ocean, which separates the hemispheres, would present an impassable barrier to this mighty destroyer. But it came, and with it despair and death. But there came also the triumph of temperance. For though many a sacrifice was made among the virtuous and exemplary, still the stroke fell chiefly upon those, whose constitutions had been impaired by habitual indulgence, and who were thus prepared for the disease.

Too long have those, who are yielding to this propensity, deluded themselves and others with this pretence of the necessary use of ardent spirits. It is time the foundation were broken up and the superstructure demolished. What was the state of the ancient world, where the process of distillation was unknown? The Arabian chemists were the first to introduce it, and not all the drugs of Arabia have been able to counteract its pernicious influence. There is nothing which leads to the belief, that men were less able to endure fatigue, or that the average duration of human life was shorter. On the contrary, some of the most stupendous

monuments of human power were erected in the early age of the world, and have come down to us unimpaired, surviving the memory of their founders and the objects of their construction. Extreme longevity was one of the characteristics of that period, and many of our most fatal disorders were unknown. A Roman soldier carried a weight of sixty pounds, besides his arms, and usually marched twenty miles a day. Every night he labored to enclose his encampment with a parapet and ditch. No fatigue nor exposure exempted an army from this duty, enjoined by the fundamental principles of their military service. Could an American soldier, with his daily allowance of spirits, or I may rather say, his daily temptation to drink, do more than this? Carry eighty pounds upon his back, march twenty miles a day, and then fortify his encampment! To the Roman soldier ardent spirits were unknown. To the American, they have been the bane of his life, and their destructive effects may be traced in every platoon of our army. It is to be hoped, that the recent regulations, which have been adopted upon this subject, will introduce a new era into our military history. Away then with this idle pretence of necessity. The necessity exists no where, but in the apologetic answers of those, who, determined not to relinquish this darling habit, are yet desirous of presenting some excuse to themselves and others for its indulgence.

And why is it, that the vice of intemperance is almost wholly confined to men? True, we are sometimes appalled by the sight of a drunken woman, but such a spectacle is rare, and as shocking as it is unusual. Have they no fatigues to encounter, no sorrows to assuage, no maladies to heal? Are they liable to none of the common accidents of life, which furnish the excuse for this self-abasement? They have all these, and more than these: for they have husbands, and sons, and fathers, whose neglect and cruelty, induced by intemperance, push the endurance of human nature to its utmost limit. And yet, under these trying circumstances, our females are patient and exemplary; seldom resorting to that false solace, which, if it give pleasure to-day, brings woe to-morrow. Whence this difference between the sexes? The habits of the lives of females are opposed to such a practice; their duties are faithfully performed at home. The domestic hearth is the altar where their human affections are offered, and round this are gathered all that makes life desirable. In joy and sorrow, here they are found seeking consolation; not in the bowl, but in the practice of those virtues which God has given them, and which man has not been able to take away. Let us learn from them, that vicious indulgences are destructive to our health, injurious to our morals, subversive of our usefulness and respectability, and creating a fearful balance, which, in the great day of account, will leave us without excuse and without hope.

But there is fortunately one plain and safe method, by which all

danger many be avoided. And that is, by entire interdiction. Abstinence, and abstinence only, from ardent spirits, will shield us from their injurious consequences. And this, in fact, is the only effectual safeguard within our power. He who says to the tide of human passion, thus far shalt thou come, but no farther, will find his prohibition as little heeded as did the English monarch, who, erecting his throne upon the brink of the ocean, commanded its tide to be still. All experience demonstrates, that we are led by degrees along the path of life. From the smallest indulgence, the most inveterate habits arise. And when entering upon an untried course, vainly should we attempt to predict the consequences. "Lead us not into temptation," is one of the petitions, we are directed to prefer to the throne of grace. A petition founded in a perfect knowledge of human nature. Temptation is best avoided by sternly resisting its first advances. And after all, what is the sacrifice which principle and prudence demand? Nothing, that adds to our comfort, that extends our knowledge, that fortifies our principles, or that increases our rational enjoyment. If there be one individual within these walls, who feels conscious he is yielding to the insidious approaches of this tempter, let me entreat him to pause, while yet he may. To resist the enemy, while victory is within his reach. Let him survey the misery around him which this vice has occasioned. Let him look behind him, and ask if there is satisfaction. Let him look before him, and ask if there is hope. He is travelling a road which leads to destruction, and he will soon find himself urged onwards by an irresistible impulse, which is at once the evidence and the punishment of his guilt. The apples he plucks are not from the garden of the Hesperides, fair and golden as they appear to him. But, they are the fruit of Sodom and Gomorrah—clusters from the Dead sea, filled with bitterness and sorrow. And let him not seek consolation in the belief, that he can relinquish the practice at pleasure, and that he will restrict himself to such a quantity as will gratify without injuring him. He who finds himself in the current of Niagara must labor for life, while life is within his reach, to attain the shore and escape. Once upon the brink of that fearful chasm, which no human being has passed and lived, swifter than his own fears he is hurried to destruction. And thus it is with those who commit themselves to this fatal current of oblivion. When they embark, the stream is gentle, and resistance easy. By and by the waters are out upon the earth, and they descend with a force and rapidity which mock their hopes and baffle their exertions. *And after death—comes the judgment.*

But powerful as are these considerations, they are not all that appeal to us. If there are trials in the present life, there are likewise mercies. Hours and days of comfort and happiness, which are freely offered and may be freely accepted. Can the plea-

asures of the bowl be weighed in the balance with the rational enjoyments within our reach? With the tender affections of those whose hearts are knit to ours; with the respect of society, with the consciousness of doing well and deserving well, and with all those moral accompaniments which, if not the reward, are yet the sure attendant upon virtuous resolutions and a well spent life. To youth, to manhood, and to age, these considerations appeal, with an energy proportioned to the circumstances of each. All hold their destinies, more or less, in their own hands, and whether these shall be for evil or for good, depends upon the course and conduct they may adopt.

Our exertions then should be extended, as the evil itself has extended, from our inland to our maritime frontier, and from the St Crix to the Gulf of Mexico. Happy will it be for ourselves, still happier for those who are to succeed us, if we can banish intemperance from this highly favored land! And if all, who acknowledge the importance of the work, will unite in its accomplishment, the object can be attained, certainly and effectually. It would be a monument far prouder than the genius of antiquity has bequeathed to us, and more useful than any which modern wealth and power have erected, for the generations that are to follow us upon the theatre of life. Mouldering and dilapidated are the temples of Athens and of Rome. Lost are the sites of Nineveh and Babylon. Forgotten are the countless millions, who have filled their places upon the earth and disappeared. But this moral victory would live in remembrance until the advent of the promised era, foretold in prophecy and invoked in poetry.

“When thou, imperial Salem, shalt arise,
Exalt thy towering head and lift thine eyes;
See a long line thy spacious courts adorn,
See future sons and daughters yet unborn,
In crowding ranks, on every side, arise,
Demanding life, impatient for the skies;
Let barbarous nations at thy gates attend,
Walk in thy light, and in thy temples bend;
See thy bright altars throng’d with prostrate kings,
And heap’d with products of Labean springs:
For thee Idumea’s spicy forests blow,
And seeds of gold in Ophir’s mountains glow.
See Heaven its sparkling portals wide display,
And break upon thee in a flood of day.
No more the rising sun shall gild the morn,
Nor evening Cynthia fill her silver horn;
But lost, dissolved in thy superior rays,
One tide of glory, one unclouded blaze
O’erflow thy courts; the Light himself shall shine,
Revealed, and God’s eternal day be thine.
The Sea shall waste, the skies in smoke decay,
Rocks fall to dust, and mountains melt away—
But fix’d his word, his saving power remains!
Thy realm forever lasts; thine own Messiah reigns:

The Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS, *Corresponding Secretary of the American Temperance Society*, then offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the success of the cause of temperance in this, and other countries, affords high encouragement to the friends of morality to persevere in their efforts till intemperance and its evils are banished from the earth.

MR. CHAIRMAN, That a great change has taken place in the public sentiment and practice with regard to the use of ardent spirit, is well known to all in this assembly. It is a change, greater probably than has ever before been effected by such efforts, on such a subject, since the creation. It is spoken of, not only in this country, but in other countries, as one of the wonders of the world. And mark, sir, its aspect on *free institutions*, and upon the great cause of civil liberty among the nations. A distinguished gentleman in Germany, remarked, "there must be something in America very peculiar; and *free institutions* must be peculiarly favorable to the influence of truth over the minds of men; otherwise there never could have been effected such a great change in the habits of the people as has been witnessed with regard to the use of ardent spirit." And what, sir, is that change? It is one which, in the course of a few years, has reached every part of this country. More than 1,500,000 of our countrymen have ceased to use ardent spirit. Many of them, a few years ago, used it every day, and without a thought that it was improper; who, by attention to the subject, in view of the facts which have been developed, have come to the fixed and settled conclusion, that it is morally wrong for them to use it, or to furnish it for the use of others; because it is in their view, injurious to the body and the soul, both for this life and the life to come. More than 1500 men have ceased to make it. They do not believe it right, even to accumulate property by such an employment. More than 4,000 men have ceased to sell it. They will not for money continue to be accessory to the ruin of their fellow men. More than 600 vessels now float on the ocean, that do not carry it; vessels which visit every clime, and some of which even circumnavigate the globe; and not only without injury, but with a manifest increase of the health, the comfort, and the safety of the men. Without a drop of what was lately thought to be essential to mariners, they can navigate polar seas and torrid zones; can ride the mountain wave, and outride the storm and the tempest, which would shipwreck a vast portion of all the vessels where the men freely use it. And so manifest has been the increase of comfort, that the sailor who has taken a voyage on board a temperance vessel, has often been the first to

ship on board the same again; and that too, when other vessels, stored with the poison, in which he might have gone, have sailed from the very same port. He prefers, after having made the experiment, to sail in the temperance ship. And such has been the increase of safety, that the rate of insurance has, in such cases, been materially diminished.

Said an old sea captain, who used to furnish his men with spirit, and who had several times been wrecked, "In every instance it was connected with drinking." For several years he has not carried spirit, and has not been shipwrecked. "In a storm," said he, "when danger becomes great, sailors begin to drink, and almost immediately after they begin to drink, they begin to despair, and soon give up all for lost, and drink on, till they are lost; when, had they taken none, and done their duty as they would had they been sober, they had outrode the storm and been safe." "Never," says a distinguished navigator, "till the sea gives up her dead, shall we know how many, through the influence of ardent spirit, have found a watery grave." Said the owner of a ship, "I made an express agreement with the captain before he sailed, that no ardent spirit should be taken on board; but in violation of that agreement, he, in a foreign port, took on board four gallons of brandy for his own use, and that four gallons of brandy cost me \$4000. Nearly all the losses at sea which I have ever suffered, were occasioned by the use of spirit; and I will never send out another vessel under the care of any man who uses it, or will take it on board." And this change of sentiment, Mr. Chairman, and of practice, is becoming general. Nor is it confined to the merchant service, it extends to the navy. Of 1107 men belonging to the Mediterranean squadron, exclusive of commissioned and warrant officers, 819, according to the statement of Commodore Biddle, have voluntarily relinquished their allowance of spirit. And the Secretary of the Navy states, that the Pacific as well as the Mediterranean squadron, now, has almost *entirely* abandoned the use of ardent spirit, and that the subsequent improvement in the health and conduct of the crews, has become a topic of remark, both by the surgeons and the officers. And may we not hope, sir, that the time is not distant, when the practice of furnishing seamen with "daily poison," as a part of the ration, will be forever done away. In the army this has actually been accomplished; and the country, I trust, sir, will not forget to whom they are indebted for the increase of the respectability and moral worth, the happiness and strength of that branch of national defence, which has been occasioned by this change.

Nor is this all; more than 5000 drunkards have, within five years, ceased to use intoxicating drink; and are, as all other drunkards will be, if they pursue that course, *sober men*. For so perfect is the divine government, that it is not possible for a

drunkard to be formed under it, except by the violation of the laws of that government. And even if a man, in violation of those laws, has become a drunkard, and sunk to the lowest depths of degradation, let him just cease, by his own wickedness to perpetuate that degradation, and the providence of God, in a single month, will make him a sober man; and will infallibly keep him sober till he dies, on the simple condition, (which I must think is most reasonable) that he will just refrain from making himself, by his own wickedness, a drunkard. And were there no man to do any thing more to make drunkards, than God does, there would be none: and if men will now imitate Him, or only make it their grand object to do this, drunkards will cease from under heaven. Or if all who are now sober will only continue so, all who will not become sober, will soon be removed, no new drunkards will be made, and our world will be free. Facts justify the conclusion, that more than 30,000 in our own country, have already, by the change which has taken place, in the public sentiment and practice, been saved from becoming drunkards. More than 500,000 are now embodied on the plan of abstinence from the use of ardent spirit, in more than 4000 temperance societies: twenty-one of these are state societies; and it is believed that the time is not distant when there will be a state society in every state in the union.

Nor is this reformation confined to this country. It began here, but it has not stopped here. More than 100,000 are already embodied on the same plan, in Great Britain. The Fourth Report of the American Temperance Society, and many other temperance publications from this country, have been republished entire in that, and are now in a course of circulation throughout, the kingdom. Applications have been made, for American temperance publications, from Switzerland, and Germany, and Sweden, and various other countries, in all of which temperance societies have been formed and are constantly increasing. And if we, Mr. Chairman, do our duty, the prospect is fair, and strong, that these societies will be formed round the globe; and will prepare the way for the light and the love, of the holy, illuminating, and purifying Spirit to fill the whole earth.

The following resolution and remarks were then submitted by the Hon. ELEUTHEROS COOKE, member of Congress from Ohio:

WHEREAS, the manufacture of, and traffic in, ardent spirit, are a fruitful source of pauperism, misery and crime, deeply injurious, in their operation, to the pecuniary and moral interests of the community—AND WHEREAS, their *abandonment* presents the only effectual remedy for the evil of intemperance, therefore

Resolved, That they ought to be discountenanced and

abandoned, as incompatible with the obligations of social and moral duty by every patriot, and especially every Christian in the country.

In submitting the resolution just read. Mr COOKE said he had intentionally directed a blow at the great source and fountain of intemperance; for as such, the making and vending of ardent spirit might, he thought, be justly denominated. He had not, therefore, desired to shrink from the responsibility of calling upon this meeting, not merely to assail some of the outposts of this enemy of the human race, but to smite the head of the monster even in his den. Effects ordinarily ceased only with their cause; and great evils could only be removed by breaking up the source from whence they flow. All other measures were, in his view, auxiliary to the great purposes of a final conquest. With respect to other embarrassments, the way was already paved to victory. Public opinion, said Mr COOKE, is already informed of the universality and magnitude of *the evil*. Its condemnation is recorded upon adamant, and its omnipotence needs *now* only to be directed to *its source*, to demolish it forever. Humanity mourns over its devastations upon the beauty and brightness of her primeval empire, and lifts aloud her voice for its extermination. Religion, from her sacred desk, confirms that voice in her solemn warnings and adjurations. Patriotism catches her appeal, and the best men of our land have come up to the aid of the christian and the philanthropist, in expelling this withering curse from our country, and in removing this foul stain from the American name.

Let us, then, since the outposts are taken, and the picquet guards have capitulated direct our forces against the strongholds of the enemy. Let us carry the war into the head quarters of his army, and as the surest and most effectual means of drying up the fountains of his poison, let us crush and crumble the head of the serpent that has beguiled us. Do not mistake me. We ask no aid from force; the great cause in which we are struggling, looks not for success to the arm of civil or military power. It wields nor spear, nor sceptre.—Enthroned in the affections of the patriot, the christian and the philanthropist, and based upon the everlasting foundations of moral justice; its hopes of final victory are directed to a higher source. Time, intelligence, enquiry, reflection, perseverance, and the consequent overwhelming power of public sentiment, are the great agents that are working out its glorious triumph.

Sir, the terms of the proposed resolution may, by some, be deemed severe in their requisitions. I do not think so. A brief glance at the immeasurable ruin—at the countless crimes—miseries and deaths which the manufacture and traffic of ardent spirit

its have brought upon the human race, will shield it from the injustice of such an imputation. What are the facts? It has long been settled by the concurrent testimony of the most distinguished physicians, that alcohol is a rank and deadly poison—that in its effects it resembles arsenic, and that though slower in its operation, it is not less certain and destructive in its results. Ave, sir, that it is infinitely more so; that it poisons, destroys, kills both the body and the mind; that the inevitable tendency of its use is the paralyzation of the health, the destruction of the human constitution; the prostration of morals; the accumulation of crime; the augmentation of the sum total of human wickedness and human misery; the derangement and stupefaction of the intellect; the oblivion of every social and religious obligation; the extinction of the love of honor in the human breast; and the annihilation of every high and holy feeling of the soul, which elevates man above the brutes that perish, and allies him to God! Who is not, then, ready to exclaim, that the mere use of this poison, is of itself, a crime? A crime, however, which sinks into insignificance when compared with that of making and vending it for the destruction of others—A crime that whitens into innocence when contrasted with that of creating and pouring upon mankind this desolating stream of moral death, this cataract of liquid fire, to blast the rising glories of our country, and desolate the land.—Time was when these results were either unthought of or unknown; when the making and vending of this now well known cause of disease and death, of crime and wretchedness, was either sustained by the voice of public opinion, or indulged without reprobation. But, sir, light has come upon us. In that light a new law has revealed itself. It is founded in moral justice, and is eternal. It is no longer unpublished or unknown to the world. It has been written, as it were, by the finger of God, in glaring capitals of living light, in characters of unutterable brightness upon the margin of the heavens. All nations have read, and are preparing to obey it. It forbids man, under the penalty of its eternal malediction—it forbids him to deal in this poison. It forbids him to scatter it like “firebrands, arrows and death,” among the children of his race. No one can longer plead ignorance of its mandates, or of its penalties. No one can longer deny, that from this source, (the manufacture and traffic of this destructive fluid) flows a train of evils, which embody every variety of human crime and human misery; which convert the blessings of heaven into curses, and those of life into the tortures of disease—the madness of despair—the premature agonies of temporal and eternal death. Without this agency, all these vast and complicated evils would cease to exist. The individual, therefore, who manufactures or traffics in this poison, *knowing* and *reflecting* upon the wide-spread ruin and desolation which result from his agency

in increasing its consumption, is, in the eye of Heaven, responsible for all, and richly merits the disfavor and reprobation of his country. Where, in the eye of eternal justice, is the difference between him who strikes the blow of death, and him who knowingly maddens the brain, and tempts and fires the soul, to strike it? Where is the difference between him who by the sale and dissemination of this subtle poison, causes four fifths of the pauperism, crime, sickness, wretchedness, insanity and death, which afflict the world; and him who does it by the manufacture and universal diffusion of "*miasmatic cholera*," if you please, or by the administration of other poisons? What matters it to the widowed wife and wretched orphan, whether you consign the husband and father to a premature grave by the midnight dagger, or by the lingering tortures of the drunkard's death? The difference is only in the form: In the form did I say? I correct myself. The enormity of guilt rests with a heavier weight upon the head of the death-dealing grocer. In the first case, the destroyer inflicts upon the suffering survivor, a bereavement unembittered with shame, and unstained by dishonor. While in the latter he superadds to the crime of murder, and to the destitution and loneliness of orphanage and widowhood the wretched inheritance of poverty and disgrace. I repeat, therefore that it is now too late to deny either the criminality of this traffic, or the magnitude of the evils which result from it. They are seen every where: Cast your eyes over the broad and boundless map of moral desolation which these agents of ruin have spread over the nations, and then tell me if we are not called upon to express our reprobation in terms much severer than in those of the resolution before you, upon the causes of these evils? I speak not merely of their effect upon civil liberty, or upon the political and commercial prosperity of the country. I speak not of their influence upon the character of nations, or upon the stability of governments. I speak not of the immense sacrifices of property—of the more than 120,000,000 of dollars, which are annually expended in the United States, in the consumption of these poisons; or of the \$200,000,000 worth of time, of which they annually rob their victims. I speak not of those stupendous public works and monuments of art, to the erection of which these accumulated sums might be annually applied; nor of the security, prosperity and glory which they would give to the country. I speak not of the gallows-chains, the gibbers, the alms houses, the dungeons, and the penitentiaries, to whose ravening heights and hungry walls, the makers and venders of this poison are but the recruiting sergeants. I speak not now of fields turned to waste—of homes deserted—of hearths desolate—of happiness forever blasted, and hopes forever crushed beneath the withering tread of this fell destroyer. Nor will time permit me to point you even for a moment, to those scenes of grovelling

dissipation, of frantic riot, of desperate revenge, and of brutal abandonment, from which the once kind husband and the father is sent home, transformed into an infuriated demon, to his trembling wife and famished children, the object alike of terror, of shame, and of heart rending commiseration. I cannot speak of those truly tragical results of this inhuman traffic; of those scenes of unutterable wretchedness and agony of soul, over which my heart has often bled, even in the far off peaceful wilds of the west; of those scenes, in which I myself have seen this demon of destruction rising on his pedestal of broken hearts and blasted hopes, and, intent on gain, filling the very air with moral pestilence, blasting every noble and manly feeling of the human heart, and pouring from his poisoned chalice his fiery streams of agony and despair into the once happy and cherished circle of domestic peace and love. These, sir, are the scenes in which the effects of this most inexcusable traffic in ardent spirits are exhibited: these the scenes, where cruel and cold hearted avarice, for the sake of a few paltry sixpences, palsies every healthful pulse of life, and sharpens every pang of death—where the grim master of the sacrifice himself, coming forth from his dark Aceidama of human blood, strikes down every hope that can cheer, and wrings every fibre that can feel, before he gives the final blow of grace that sends the suffering victim to eternity.

But, I forbear to expatiate. In conclusion, let me only ask, can that traffic be justified by an enlightened and virtuous people, which thus alone holds out the chief temptation to intemperance, and strews the land with “beggars, and widows, and orphans, and crimes”—which breaks up the foundations of social happiness, consigns millions prematurely to their graves, and fills the world with wailings, lamentations, and woe? I answer, *no*, sir. Policy, morality, patriotism, religion, condemn it. The omnipotence of public opinion will put it down. A mighty and glorious revolution, thank God, is in triumphant progress. A light, brighter than that of the sun at noon day, has burst upon us. All now see and admit, that if there were no makers or venders of this poison, there *would be*, *there could be*, no drunkards; and that from the moment of their abandonment of this horrid traffic, a second golden age would dawn upon the world, and the bright earth would smile and bloom again in primeval happiness and peace.

Let us then lay the axe at the root of the tree—at the root of this great “Bohan Upas” of moral death and social ruin. Let us assail its giant trunk, now that we have lopped its branches. Let us invoke that wretched commerce which is conducted beneath its deadly shade, to abandon its pursuit and to withhold its liquid fires from the execution of their threatened devastation upon the brightest promises and hopes of man. Let us invoke the dealer in that commerce, by every bond of social duty—by his detestation of

crime—by his love of virtue—by his devotion to the public peace—by his sympathy for the wretched—by the funeral knell of his victims—by the bitter tears of the widow—by the heart-breaking cries of shelterless and degraded orphanage—and by every tie that binds the good man to his country, to close forever the flood-gates of this all devouring deluge, and to unite with us in drying up this great source of individual crime and national degradation.

As Americans, our condition is peculiar and responsible. In spite of the power of prejudice and the most formidable opposition, we have already shaken the bloated monster's throne to its centre, and planted a new star of bright and cheering hope upon the darkness of the world's moral sky. Already has it flashed across the ocean, and been hailed by the wise and good of all civilized nations, as the light of a new and glorious day. They have caught the example and are now gloriously engaged in its imitation. Their eyes are fixed upon us, and their gaze is equally incessant and intense. Let us not mock it with disappointment. Let our step be onward! Let us take counsel and gather strength from the responsibilities we have assumed. And, as a high and perpetual motive to unrelaxed exertion, let it never be forgotten, that the glory of having projected and thus far successfully prosecuted this great moral revolution belongs exclusively to our own beloved country. Let us look steadily forward, and press on firmly to its final consummation; and as we have led the van in the glorious career of civil liberty and political emancipation, let us never, never relinquish the high purpose of our association, until this *last* and *greatest* and *deadliest* enemy of social virtue, of enlightened freedom, and of human happiness, shall have been utterly demolished and extirpated from our borders.

The Hon. GEORGE R. BRIGGS, Member of Congress, from Massachusetts, next rose and addressed the meeting in support of the following resolution.

Resolved, That total abstinence from the use of ardent spirit, as a drink, is the only security to individuals against its ruinous consequences, and gives the only sure pledge of the ultimate success of the cause of temperance.

Mr. Chairman—

The resolution which I have been requested to present for the consideration of this meeting, avows the principle of *total abstinence*. It means precisely what it avows. The friends of temperance consider that principle as the hinge on which this great cause must turn. They believe, as the resolution

declares, that the safety of individuals and the success of the cause depend upon it. It is therefore of great moment that we should come to a right decision upon this point.

Ethical writers tell us, that when a proposition is presented, upon which we are to act, the one side of which is *doubtful*, and the other *certain*, it is our duty to take the certain side. Apply this plain and safe rule of moral action to the case before us. Is the use of ardent spirit as a drink safe?—Has not its use brought ruin upon thousands, and thousands of individuals, and been productive of great and multiplied public evils—as its tendency is to produce such disastrous consequences, and as such consequences have followed, it is very clear that it cannot be used with safety. Will any pretend that there is not perfect security against all such consequences individual and public, in entire abstinence? No man can be found so hardy as to maintain such an absurdity. If then we admit the rule of action, what I have stated to be correct, the argument is short, simple, and conclusive, and proves that individuals ought not to use ardent spirit as a drink.

It is temperate drinking that imperceptibly leads to excess, and brings on all the evil fruits of that excess.

Fashion, habit, custom, and social intercourse, lead on the unsuspecting drinker, until a confirmed appetite, unconsciously contracted, makes him a drunkard. He sees not his danger until he has advanced so far, that he loses the power to return—our whole country is filled with instances which bear testimony to the melancholy truth of this remark. Private worth, blandness of manners—strength of intellect—elevation of character, and all the high and endearing relations of life, have been found wholly insufficient to arrest habits thus formed, and controul an appetite thus confirmed.

The kind remonstrances of friends are treated with contempt, and rejected with disdain. If any man who hears me is in the habitual use of this poisonous substance, and yet flatters himself that he is in no danger, let him subject himself to an experiment that will show him the truth. Let him resolve to pass by the season and the occasion when he usually takes his beverage, and if he finds that his stomach reminds him of the time to receive its accustomed supply, and loudly calls for the dram, depend upon it he is in most imminent danger. If he hesitates on the course which he ought to adopt, his situation is most critical—if he permits the cravings of a morbid appetite to master his resistance to its demands—he is

undone. No matter who he is, or what he is, if this is his condition he will soon be a ruined drunkard.

Sir, the truth is, intemperance advances upon its victim with the insidiousness of the serpent—it grapples him with the strength of a giant—it holds him with the remorseless cruelty of a demon—all attempts to extricate himself from its power is hopeless—he yields to a dominion which he cannot resist, and sinks into ruin.

Temperate drinking sets the drunkard out in his career but a fixed resolution of abstinence closes the gate which opens to the dark avenue of intemperance, and bolts it with bars of iron—with all his propensities and appetites subjected to his controul, the temperate man moves on in the path of safety and usefulness.

The learned Bailly in writing upon this subject urges the propriety and necessity of a resolute determination to abstain entirely from intoxicating liquors—

“For,” says he, “indefinite resolutions yield to extraordinary occurrences; and extraordinary occurrences are continually recurring.”

It may be asked do you pretend that every man who drinks ardent spirit becomes a drunkard? By no means. But I ask, did the Cholera, which passed over the cities of this country, like the destroying angel, kill every person upon whom it seized? No. Only about one in three of all those who groaned under its attack fell victims to its power. Have you ever known an instance, sir, when *all* the men on board a ship of war have been swept away in the most bloody battle ever fought on the heaving billows? But because all were not killed, was the quarter deck a place of safety?

Were all that splendid company assembled in the Richmond Theatre when it took fire a few years ago, consumed in its flames? No, sir; only about seventy of that great assembly who, unconscious of danger one moment before the scenery was wrapped in flames, among whom were embraced the talent, the pride, and the beauty of that city and of the commonwealth, perished in the conflagration.

Yet will any one have the madness to say that that scene of confusion, horror, and death was a place of safety?

It has been ascertained that, in 1828, one in forty of our whole population were drunkards, and that more than thirty thousand persons were annually hurried to the grave by the use of intoxicating liquors.

Another branch of the resolution declares that the final suc-

cess of the temperance cause depends upon the uncompromising observance of the principle of total abstinence.

If individuals cannot escape from the consequences of intemperance, without the adoption of this principle, it would seem to follow of course that communities, which are but the aggregates of individuals, will be involved in the evils of a departure from it.

The past experience of our country is decisive on this question.

The use of alcohol as a drink on occasions and in quantities judged to be necessary and proper by those who drank it, has filled our land with poverty and crime, with tears and sorrows.

In 1828, there were, in these United States, four hundred thousand intemperate persons. This army of drunkards were once sober men. The people of this country have been in the habit of consuming sixty millions gallons of ardent spirit a year—the cost of which was more than thirty millions of dollars. It has filled our goals and penitentiaries with convicts, and our poor houses with tenants.

It has dug the grave of thousands and made that sacred abode of repose and quiet, the early prison house of genius, the receptacle of drunkards, and the place of buried hopes.

The same causes will continue to produce the same effects, as certain as night succeeds the setting sun. The custom which brought upon our country the reproachful epithet of a nation of drunkards, came over the mass of our population, as the habit of inebriation does over an individual, by an insidious, imperceptible, and fatal process.

Mr. Chairman, who will undertake to fix the boundary between temperance and intemperance?

How often, how much, and for what purposes may a man drink, and yet be temperate? The moderate drinker takes it only when he *thinks* he needs it. The drunkard does the same. The strength of the appetite, the amount required, and the ability to stand under it, vary with different individuals. All are governed by the same influence, and all tend to the same results. The man who contends with this fell destroyer, may have a strong constitution and a vigorous intellect, but in the end his intellectual and physical powers must surrender to the giant adversary. The defeat is full of shame and disgrace. But he falls not alone. The pestilence of his example reaches far around him. The desolation which he brings upon himself overwhelms all with whom he may stand connected.

The example of moderate drinking, by men of respecta

bility, exerts a most pernicious and dangerous influence upon all around them. One temperate drinker does more harm to the cause of temperance than ten drunkards. The young and unwary are enticed and lured by his example to embark in the dangerous experiment, whilst the habitually intemperate are countenanced by his practice, and fatally hastened on in their downward course—whilst he boasts of safety, he dreams not that the ruined drunkard who staggers before him, but yesterday occupied the same place where he now stands, and held the same confident language which he now holds. To-morrow he may be the jest and the scorn of some other *temperate drinker*.

The entire inutility of all former efforts to arrest the progress of this vice shows conclusively that the principle for which we contend, is the only one from which success can be expected.

Temperance societies organized and sustained by great and good men uniting their endeavors to confine the use of ardent spirit within the limits of moderation and propriety, existed for many years before the adoption of the present plan, without arresting in the slightest degree the onward progress of that burning flood which was sweeping over our country and carrying away its population.

The wonderful advancement of the cause of total abstinence, demonstrates the wisdom of the principle and holds out the most cheering prospects to its friends.

The fruits of their efforts have not only been co-extensive with the limits of our own vast country, but they have reached across the Atlantic, and moved to emulation the people of the old world.

The great and the philanthropic have viewed with admiration the movements of the friends of temperance in these U. States. European monarchs have sought, through their official representatives in this country, to be informed of the means used to produce these happy and valuable results.

Sir, the cause of temperance is indeed a great cause. In its success is involved the best interests of man. It will exert an influence over his destiny in two worlds. It has called up the attention of the people of this whole country, and their persevering efforts to carry it on, evinces the great importance which they attach to it. It was one of those mighty topics which the eloquent Apostle of the Gentiles discussed before a Roman governor with such startling effect, that it shook the strong nerves of that proud and voluptuous heathen: "for while

he reasoned of righteousness, *temperance*, and judgment to come, Felix trembled."

To the young men of America this subject addresses itself with peculiar force. Upon them rest the hopes, and upon them will soon devolve the burdens and the honors of their country. Every thing which can give vigour to intellect, dignity to character, and elevation to morals, it becomes them to pursue with the ardor of love and the devotion of patriotism. They are to imitate the virtues and avoid the errors of those who have gone before them.

If they will take a bold and decided stand against this fearful vice which has brought reproach upon their country and laid low many of her proudest and most gifted sons, they can exterminate the evil, and change the habit and custom of the age in which they live. The generation of which they form a part will reap the honor and enjoy the happiness of completing a triumph more glorious because more useful to mankind, than that which belongs to successful generals and conquering armies.

THOMAS SEWALL, M. D. Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Columbian College, Washington, D. C. then arose and said:

I rejoice, Mr. President, that the principle of total abstinence has been brought forward upon this occasion, and has been so successfully sustained by the gentleman who has just taken his seat; for I am convinced that nothing short of the practical recognition of this principle carried into the temperance cause, can ever accomplish the great object in view. As a part of this system and in support of this principle, I beg leave to offer the following resolution.

Resolved, That the use of ardent spirit tends to produce disease and premature death; and that there is no case in which it is indispensable, even as a medicine, and in which there may not be an adequate substitute.

This resolution, Mr. President, contains two points. The first is, that the use of ardent spirit induces disease and premature death.

There are few subjects in medicine better understood and none the consideration of which brings us to more satisfactory though painful results, than that of the effect of ardent spirit upon the physical constitution of man. But the discussion of this part of the subject is unsuited to this place and occasion.—

Besides, the proposition is so fully sustained by the accumulated facts of more than two centuries, as to receive the universal assent of intelligent men. In our own day and country and within our own observation, we have facts which are overwhelming upon this subject. He who will cast his eyes around, must see that intemperance, like a withering pestilence, has passed over our land, carrying with it physical as well as moral desolation. It has invaded all ranks of our citizens, and swept away multitudes of every class. All ages and constitutions have sunk under its subduing power. There is no disease it has not induced, no predisposition to disease it has not excited into action. It has seized upon every tissue of the body, invaded every organ, deranged every function and prostrated every power. It has filled our grave yards with the old, middle aged and young. It is computed by high medical authority, that one-third of all the deaths among our male population between the ages of twenty and fifty, have been occasioned by strong drink—and this from that portion of the community which under the influence of temperance, would have been the light, the strength and glory of our country.

But, Mr. President, we are not limited to the consideration of those facts, which through a series of years have accumulated, and which have ceased to shock us because they have ceased to be novel. That appalling scourge the epidemic Cholera, which within a few years has spread consternation and terror over the continents of Asia and Europe, and which at length has reached our own shores, and has caused the voice of wailing to be heard in our streets, presents a new, startling and decisive fact, from which it becomes us and all the nations to learn wisdom. Other warnings and other teachers we have too long disregarded. Let us beware how we turn a deaf ear to that note of alarm which this special messenger has sounded, and which has thrilled through every heart, and reached to the utmost habitation of the land.—Over whatever region this disease has passed, it has singled out the intemperate for its victims in a marked and extraordinary manner. If in some instances the sober and temperate have been borne off in the common ruin, it has seldom been except where some powerful, predisposing or exciting cause overwhelmed the system. In the city of Albany, of three hundred and thirty-six, who fell victims to the disease, in the course of a few weeks, only five were temperate—temperate in the sense in which the gentleman who has preceded me, has used the term, the only sense in which it can be used with propriety, to express total abstinence from the use of ardent spirit. And of the five thousand members of the temperance societies of that city, there were but two that died. In the population generally, about one in fifty were cut down, while of the members of the temperance societies there was

but one in twenty-five hundred. But these are not solitary facts; in this city and wherever else the disease has swept over the country, its march has been distinguished by the same characteristic circumstances.

If then, Sir, we had no other motive for pressing forward in the vast enterprize which has called us together this evening, than the single one of saving our fellow-citizens from the returning ravages of this fearful pestilence, this alone, it would seem, should be sufficient to reach every heart and to rouse the slumbering energies of the nation.

The second position asserted by the resolution is, that there is no case in which ardent spirit is indispensable, even as a medicine, and in which there may not be an adequate substitute.

The time has been, Mr. President, when this proposition would have been regarded as an unfounded assumption. Such has been the influence of education and habit over the minds of men, that ardent spirit has long been regarded as the universal medicinal restorative, the great panacea, and consequently it has been the constant companion of the sick and the chief solace of the invalid; and the physician might as easily have laid aside all other articles of the *materia medica*, as to have dispensed with the alcoholic mixtures. But the light of modern science and the power of moral influence, is beginning to dissipate the clouds which have long hovered over us, and the opinion of the medical profession is fast settling down upon the practicability and propriety of wholly dispensing with the medical use of this article.

Several of the most distinguished physicians of our country have expelled it from their practice, and hundreds of others who have had occasion to weep over the consequences of prescribing it as a medicine, are waking up to a sense of their responsibility and duty.

By the light of modern chemistry, we see that many of those pharmaceutic preparations which were once thought to require the aid of alcohol, are now prepared with equal efficacy without it. And the day, I am persuaded sir, is not distant when, by universal consent, ardent spirit, in every form, shall be cast out from the sick room as its last lurking place, its final strong hold, and this without impairing the powers of the healing art, or limiting its resources.

When this is effected, sir, and not till then, will the cause of universal temperance have gained a full triumph.

When the light of that day arises, what a soothing spectacle will it spread out to the moral eye. All tears will not yet be wiped away, and death shall still pass upon all men, but the diseases of intemperance, the bloated form, the paralyzed muscle, the trembling limb, the enfeebled mind, the wasted and seared affections; these forms of disease and suffering will have disappeared. No

longer shall our streets be thronged by the helpless and decreppd. No longer shall our hospitals, infirmaries, and alms houses be filled by those wretched, exhausted beings who have been cast out of the pale of social relations. No longer shall the children and youth bear about the marks of parental disease and degradation.

Who can estimate aright the whole length and breadth of this great amelioration of the condition of man? The science of Jenner banished one disease only, and his name is justly immortalized. A discovery of Davy disarmed the deadly gasses of the mines of their power of danger, and the world justly ranks this among the most splendid achievements of philosophy. But here, not one disease alone, not one source of occasional danger to a single small class of men is removed—a whole fountain of evil, inimitable, universal, is sealed up—a whole class of diseases of the body, mind, and moral constitution, are extirpated forever. How much new industry will this great result give back to the enterprises of society. How much now banished happiness will it restore to the social circle. How many new worshippers will it call around the altar of God. With how much new intelligence and energy will it nerve the arm of labor and guide the exertions of mind—and what a fertilizing flood of morality, enjoyment, wealth, and honor will it cause to flow out upon the face of the whole land. Happy is he who shall live to see these things! Happier still who not seeing them, shall so labor in his day and generation in this glorious cause, as by the blessing of God, to work out their certain and speedy fulfilment.

The Hon. LEWIS CONDICT, member of Congress from New Jersey, then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that the liberties and welfare of the nation are intimately and indissolubly connected with the morals and virtue of the people. And that, in the enactment of laws for the common benefit, it is equally the duty of the Legislative body to guard and preserve the public morals from corruption, as to advance the pecuniary interest, or to maintain the civil rights and freedom of the community.

Mr. CONDICT then said, it has been our lot, Mr. Chairman, to live in an age when the nations of Europe, viewing the moral desolation which, for a time, pervaded every section of our own beloved country, portending destruction to all that is dear to the heart of man, pronounced us to be, "*a nation of*

drunkards”—“a nation of drunkards!” It was seen that we had distanced the old world in this race of profligacy, and for half a century, perhaps had stood unrivalled. Whilst the poor of the old world have been famishing for bread, and to sustain life would beg for the “crumbs from the rich men’s tables,” here the ingenuity of man has been taxed for years to devise the most speedy and efficient method of converting our corn and our wheat, not into the loaf which feeds and strengthens the hand of labor, but into that deadly poison which palsies every muscle, debases the soul of man, and effaces from it the image of the Deity.

Nor has this process been limited to our bread stuffs. The richest bounties of Providence, the delicate dainties of our tables, our most delicious fruits and vegetables, are perverted from their original design, to subserve this perverted appetite. The smoke of the still was seen in every neighborhood—the poison found its way to every family—the cup was carried to every lip. The father enticed the son, and the elder brother the younger, until our title to this rare distinction became unquestioned.

The evils which have resulted—such as the destruction of morals, the increase of crime, the ruin of families, the degradation and misery of thousands, I cannot now notice. Its bitter fruits have been *seen* and *felt* and *tasted* in every corner of our land. It has filled our jails with debtors, our penitentiaries with criminals, our hospitals with loathsome diseases, our poor houses with wretched tenants, our whole land with widows and orphans, and our grave yards with human bodies.

These things, Mr. Chairman, we have seen and known. And blessed be God, we have also lived to see a brighter day. Within the space of a few years, we have seen a revolution accomplished in our moral world, as astonishing and as unexpected, as that political revolution by which we have been admitted into the family of nations. We have seen this scourge arrested, this mighty flood turned back, its proud wave stayed, by means, which, to all human judgment, seemed inadequate. A few enlightened philanthropists began this work of reform, by an appeal to the sober senses and enlightened judgment of the community, and acting on the principle of “*total abstinence*,” have so commended themselves and their cause to the understanding of men, as, in a good measure, to banish the vice of drunkenness from our borders.

I will not stop to enquire *how* this revolution has been effected. We are satisfied that the fact is so, and we rejoice in

it. In the events of Providence, the minds of men had been gradually preparing and ripening for this moral reform, and no sooner had its star risen in the East, than its rays were seen and reflected to every quarter of our horizon. Its influence has spread from place to place, and from heart to heart, until, as I believe, there is scarcely a State in our Union, and, as I hope, scarcely a county in a State, in which kindred associations do not exist—all enlisted in the same cause—under the same glorious banner and motto—“*total abstinence.*”

And it is under this same benign influence, as I hope, Mr. Chairman, that we assemble here this evening in this our Hall of the National Legislature. And from this place, as I trust, an influence will go forth to the nation, which shall be felt for good in every district throughout our borders, promotive of the highest happiness and welfare of all classes of the people. Let us not limit our views to the mansions of wealth and luxury. Let us look into the humble cottage—into the abodes of want, where hunger and nakedness are felt; where riot and violence have often driven the mother and her infant into the street through the midnight storm, to seek a shelter from that storm which rages in her own dwelling. Let us, by mild persuasives, banish the bottle from this roof, and the smile of love will light up the countenance of the mother, and joy and gladness cheer her heart.

Mr. Chairman, we have seen almost all classes of men engaged in this delightful work. The divine, the counsellor, the physician, the merchant, the planter, the mechanic, each contributing his mite.

It has occurred to me, and no doubt to others, that there is one class, who, as yet, have been little more than lookers-on. This class is the legislators of our country! Being one of the body, I ask myself and my associates, what have we done officially, either in our enactments or otherwise, which is calculated to aid and forward this good work? Perhaps this question may be returned to me—what can be done by legislators to advance or promote so desirable an object?

I answer, much may be done, in various modes.

First: By *example*. An association of members of the National Legislature, publicly pledged to each other, and teaching by *example*, the doctrine of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks whilst here, carrying home into their respective districts this influence—preaching practically among the people this living and active precept of total abstinence, will exert an influence more extensive and more active than has yet been

known. Can it be doubted? No, no! Every heart and every tongue will assent. Such an association *here*, in the heart of the nation, embracing many members of each House—(Why not also the Cabinet and other officers of Government, including also those of the Army and Navy?) Such an association, I say, will strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of a thousand co-operators throughout the land.

In the second place: May not positive legislation do something to check this vice? What member of this or of the State Legislatures is there who does not see and know the necessity of better regulations in our houses of public entertainment? How many of them are mere tipping shops—large establishments where gamblers and drunkards are manufactured by legions, to be let loose on society? Is not the law radically defective, both in its enactments and its administration, which licenses such pest-houses? In theory they are designed for the accommodation of the traveller. Wearied by his journey, he will shun them, if possible, as he would a thunder storm. Would not the public welfare be promoted, by taxing them out of existence?

In the third place: Might not the hand of legislation be laid somewhat heavily upon intoxicating liquors? Are they not fair subjects and objects of taxation, whether for revenue or for morals? Would not the heart of many a poor widow rejoice, if the tax, which, by your laws, she now pays upon her molasses and tea, could be transferred to that poison which destroyed her husband, and has often sent her and her orphans supperless to bed? Such legislation would gladden many a heavy heart and light up many smiles, where tears only are seen.

Suppose the revenue from this source were discreetly applied, under State regulations, to the establishment of free schools for twenty-five years, what a change might we not expect in the moral condition of the country? How many youth would it not rescue from that pit of destruction, which the vices and follies of their fathers have prepared. What an accession of virtue, and talent, and industry would it not bring forth, for the defence and ornament of our land, which otherwise must be buried in obscurity or enlisted among the votaries of vice? What security would it not afford for perpetuating the blessings and benefits of free government?

Who can trace the progress or define the limits of the moral desolation which has stalked abroad through our land with giant step? All other sources of crime are but the "small

dust of the balance," "a drop in the bucket," compared with this vast ocean of human misery which no mind can fathom—deluging our country with crime, which no legislation can arrest or control, unless by laying the axe to the root of the tree.

To the mind of the philanthropist, the patriot, the statesman, the christian, no fairer subject for taxation can be presented. And may we not indulge the hope, that the statesmen of our country, who ought to be as well the conservators of the public morals, as of the public purse, to secure the country from this overwhelming scourge, will unite their efforts to tax the monster out of our borders? May we not hope, that the time is not very distant, when the bottle and bowl shall make some amends to society, by endowing schools and colleges to train, for virtue and religion, the children whose fathers they have murdered, and thus blot from our history the foul page which exhibits us to the world as a Nation of Drunkards?

This would, indeed, be a system of "*internal improvement*" of more intrinsic value to the country, than all the canals and rail roads which have been projected. And in such a system, I would be more ambitious to be an humble instrument; than to be the reputed founder and projector of all the canals which have been contemplated between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

The following resolution was to have been presented by the Hon. H. A. S. DEARBORN, member of Congress from Massachusetts, but he was prevented by sickness from attending the meeting.

Resolved, That the abolition of the use of ardent spirit throughout the Army, has been highly salutary; and that its abolition throughout the Navy, while it would strengthen the arm of national defence, would also elevate the character and increase the respectability and happiness of that interesting and important class of our citizens.

The following resolution was then moved by the Hon. ANDREW STEWART, member of Congress from Pennsylvania:

Resolved, That the adoption of the principle of abstinence from the use of ardent spirit, by superintendents of public works, proprietors of rail roads, steamboats, stages, &c. with regard to all in their employ-

ment, would increase the value of their services, as well as the comfort and safety of the community.

Mr. STEWART said the purpose of this resolution was sufficiently obvious—it was to connect the *moral* with the *physical* improvement of our country; and however highly important the latter might be deemed, the former was undoubtedly much more so.

It had been his intention, Mr. S. said, to have accompanied the introduction of this resolution with some remarks, but he felt admonished by the lateness of the hour, as well as by the state of his health, to change his purpose; besides, even under the most favorable circumstances, he could not hope to be able to add any thing to the gratification which the meeting had evidently experienced during the eloquent and spirited address from the chair, and from the remarks of other gentlemen who had already discussed the subject with so much ability and eloquence.

Since he was up, however, he would avail himself of the opportunity of stating a fact that could not fail to be gratifying to all. — Recent intelligence from the west, he said, brought information on this subject of the most grateful and cheering character. The cause of temperance, it appeared, had there received a new and powerful impulse; its progress was onward and triumphant; it had outstripped the anticipations of its most ardent and sanguine friends. Societies were forming in every village, town, and neighborhood; ignorance and vice were every where fleeing before the advance of light and virtue, and the prospect was every day becoming stronger and brighter, that this fell monster *Intemperance* would soon be exterminated from the land—that this fruitful source of misery and woe—this great fountain of poverty, wretchedness and crime, would soon be forever dried up and destroyed; when it would become a matter of wonder and astonishment to all that this barbarous, debasing and brutalizing practice had been so long tolerated in this free, enlightened, and happy land.

The Hon. WILLIAM WILKINS, member of the United States Senate from Pennsylvania, then submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the use of ardent spirits and the unrestrained traffic in them, directly lead to the introduction amongst us, of crimes and vice in various forms, and to the overthrow of that purity and virtue of the people upon which depend the permanence of our free institutions, and, therefore, ought to be discouraged and resisted by every friend of civil and religious liberty throughout the world.

In support of the above resolution, the Honorable SENATOR remarked that, for any man to speak on the evils of intemperance, was, in his view, the greatest of all superfluities. They were evils which were seen and read of all men. Nobody needed to be convinced of them; all saw them; all acknowledged them. But the great question was, what is the remedy? Here he descanted with great perspicuity, elegance, and power upon *total abstinence* from the use of all intoxicating drinks, as the only remedy, and said, that if he had not *always* acted strictly on that plan, (as nothing had ever passed his lips but the pure beverage which God had made for the drink of man,) instead of now having the honor of representing in Congress the great and powerful State of Pennsylvania, an honor of which he might justly be proud, he might have been a loathsome, degraded, and miserable drunkard, wallowing in the gutter, and more filthy even than the gutter in which he wallowed. He also spoke in the strongest terms of the great and extensive benefits which had resulted from the operations of temperance societies; said that he belonged to one himself, and in an eloquent and impressive manner, he urged all to join them; and pourtrayed, in glowing colors, the benefits which, from such a course, would result to our country and the world.

The honorable JOHN REED, member of Congress from Massachusetts, presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That as a means of universal success, the friends of temperance are bound to redouble their efforts by the agency of the press, and by all other practicable means, to enlighten the understandings of their fellow men, and awaken their attention to this great and important cause.

In support of this resolution Mr. REED observed—

MR. CHAIRMAN:—By the permission of this meeting, I will offer some brief remarks, in support of the resolution I have presented for their consideration.

Great improvements in the character and condition of man, can be made only by the efforts of men united. When we are called upon to unite for the purpose of making such improvements, we naturally enquire, are they practicable? And if practicable, is it expedient for us to engage in the work? In the origin of temperance societies in Massachusetts, these and many other questions were often propounded. Many declined to engage in a cause which appeared surrounded with so many and so great difficulties, and which, in their estimation, promis-

ed so little success. But it was undertaken by those, who had hope and faith in its success. Though they were considered by some as enthusiasts, they were in truth influenced by a high principle of duty, which required them to use their best efforts, if possible, to preserve their fellow men from inevitable destruction. Their efforts have proved, in a great measure, successful; and great good has resulted from the undertaking.

Mr. Chairman : I had the honor, and I esteem it no small honor, to have been one of the earliest associates, in forming a Temperance Society, in the United States. I have had opportunity, for years, to witness its effects, and know by actual observation, its real usefulness.

We formed a temperance society in the village in which I live, in the year 1816, and it has ever since continued in successful operation. Its beneficial effects have been obvious to all; and many of those who formed the society, have lived to realize the accomplishment of all their hopes and anticipations. It has more than answered the expectations of its founders. Its influence has in some cases reclaimed the intemperate. The gentleman who preceded me (Judge Wilkins) stated, that he had never known a confirmed drunkard reformed. I assure that gentleman such cases have occurred; they have occurred under my own observation, and in my own neighborhood. One of my nearest neighbors was for years a confirmed drunkard; but for more than twelve years last past, no man has been more sober and temperate. He has long been a member of our society, and has often, at our public meetings, given the history of his own life, a painful duty he felt constrained to perform for the good of others. The situation of a confirmed drunkard is awful indeed; but he is not without the reach of hope. I beseech you, give him not up in despair. I repeat, the society, of which I have spoken, has, in some cases, been instrumental in reclaiming the decidedly intemperate. Its operations have led to inquiry and consideration, and have had no inconsiderable influence upon the state of society. It has induced new customs in regard to hospitality and generosity, in which ardent spirit has no place. It has had a powerful influence upon the young and inexperienced, by warning them of danger, and preventing them from touching and tasting the accursed thing; and there are now many who have arrived to years of maturity, who have never tasted ardent spirit. Since the commencement of the society, a generation have grown up much improved by it, in character and usefulness.

That which was once doubtful, is now settled by experience; and the beneficial effects of temperance societies are recorded in the faithful page of history. The blessings of many, who were ready to perish, have come upon them. The mother—the wife daily thanks her Heavenly Father, that by their influence her husband, once dead in drunkenness and sin, has been reformed, and raised to newness of life—to love, and virtue, and usefulness. “He was dead and is alive, he was lost and is found.”

Enough has been done, to prove to the most sceptical, that these societies have been highly beneficial; and those who now refuse to join them, and give them the sanction of their name and influence, have not the poor apology that it is an experiment, and they are faithless

Is the great work of temperance perfected? Are the intemperate, throughout our country, reclaimed? Do the young and rising generation, surrounded as they are, with so many insidious and seductive temptations, need no warning and admonition, to avoid the road to ruin?

Though we speak of the great good that has already been effected, it is no matter of boasting—far from it; the whole subject of intemperance, is most humiliating to the noble pride of man. It is mentioned to encourage others to engage in this arduous, but *not hopeless cause*. Comparatively, but little has yet been effected. The fair prospect of ultimate and universal success should stimulate us, to higher and nobler efforts. If something useful has been effected, much remains yet to be done. Intemperance has poisoned the souls and bodies of many of our unfortunate fellow men, who are dragging out a miserable existence. Have we discovered an antidote? Let compassion and love hasten to administer relief.

But, sir, what I most regard, and value as most useful in this institution is, its power and influence in preventing evil.—Its influence upon the young, the thoughtless, and inexperienced—the rising generation. Their hearts are ingenuous, and open to the reception of truth. They have as yet no bad habits and prejudices to encounter. “They do not love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil.”

Mr. Chairman; How shall we most effectually enlighten and instruct our fellow men, in the cause of temperance? In various ways.—

By the press, the most potent of all means, within the reach of man. Let us publish magazines, addresses, dissertations,

reports and newspapers. Let the truth be adapted to the humblest, as well as to the most philosophic mind. Let the *effects of intemperance be made known to all men*.—Upon property:—that it brings men to poverty and want.—Upon health:—that it undermines and destroys the constitution.—Upon the mind;—that its memory is shattered, its faculties weakened, and its balance and power of judging destroyed.—Upon character:—that it utterly ruins every thing useful and good, gives the passions the dominion, and makes man an abject slave of vice, and renders him a miserable object of pity.

The truth is great and will finally prevail. Let us not only publish it, in all its forms, but circulate and distribute it, in every city, town, village, hamlet, and dwelling. "*And they shall know the truth, and the truth shall make them free.*" Free from the habit and slavery of intemperance. If we use the press with diligence, fidelity, and wisdom, it will accomplish great good for our fellow creatures.

As another means of promoting temperance, I look with deep interest to those worthy and good men, who have devoted themselves to this cause;—who have been appropriately denominated, *apostles of temperance*. They have studied and investigated the subject, scientifically and practically. They are able to develope its true character, and show its evils upon individuals, families and society, and from the truth of their statements by the most incontrovertible evidence,—evils of such extent and magnitude as may well alarm the most stupid and indifferent, and awaken anxious desire to arrest the progress of the mighty destroyer. Those men testify of what they have seen, and heard, and known. Let them be heard and believed for the truth's sake.

In this great work, temperance societies are not to be overlooked. Indeed, they are the moving principle to put all other means in operation. There can be no objection, to uniting for honest and benevolent objects. Union gives countenance, strength, and support to good resolutions, and good habits, especially when they are opposed to fashion and custom. Men have been too long combined in sustaining fashions and customs at war with happiness, and manifestly leading to intemperance and ruin. They often, very often, regret that they feel bound, as gentlemen, to submit to the established usages of society which are so injurious in their effects. The free, and liberal, and generous treating and giving away *good spirit* or *any spirit*, has been made a test of hospitality and generosity. The evil of intemperance, has been in a measure created, by the false

and delusive fashions of social intercourse; and the numbers and characters of those who yet support them are truly formidable. Let those who agree with us in opinion, unite also, to support, countenance and sustain each other, in new rules, and regulations, and customs, in relation to ardent spirit, which the public good most imperiously demands.

Mr. Chairman: OUR OWN EXAMPLE is the best and most important of all instruction. This we must not fail to give, if we would teach effectually. Men are less regarded in words, and more watched and imitated in their conduct, than they sometimes imagine. Silent example speaks an universal language which is read by all people and ages, from the infant to the profoundest philosopher, and by nations and people the most savage and untutored, as well as by the most civilized and polished. It speaks a language, (with few exceptions) well understood by all. Its influence is powerful: and if the example and life conform to the words and professions, it gives a sanction to character which is irresistible. Even vice is compelled to pay it unwilling homage.

Finally, sir, allow me to express a hope, that the friends of temperance may use their best efforts to advise and instruct their fellow men—By the agency of the press.—By public teaching.—By private conversation.—By EXAMPLE. May God grant, that their efforts may prove effectual in reclaiming the intemperate, and especially in preserving the young, and sober, and inexperienced, from ever forming the habit of intemperance.

The Hon. JOHN TIPTON, United States Senator, from Indiana, then submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to all who adopt the principles of the temperance reformation, or who wish to promote it, to add the influence of their names and example as members of Temperance Societies, and in all proper ways to promote the formation of such societies, until they shall become universal.

Mr. TIPTON said, I am not accustomed to public debate, and were I disposed to discuss the subject now before you, the lateness of the hour and the eloquent addresses of the gentlemen who have preceded me, would admonish me to remain silent. I have risen merely to add my testimony to the evil consequences of intemperance, and to the beneficial effects of *Temperance Societies*. I believe that half of all the evils that befall us, may

be traced to intemperance; and that great good has already been accomplished by the moral influence of these societies. But much remains yet to be done, and I have no doubt it can, and will be effected, by adopting the rules laid down in the resolution, which I have had the honor to introduce. If gentlemen who take the lead in society, will practice entire abstinence themselves, and invite others to do the same; if the heads of families will discord the use of intoxicating liquor from their families; it will go far to arrest the progress of this destroyer of our health, our property and our happiness; and sir, I would strongly recommend to all freemen throughout every part of this great republic, to withhold their suffrages from all candidates for public favor who are in the habit of intemperance. A steady observance of these rules cannot fail to do much good, both to the present and to the rising generation. With these views I submit the resolution for consideration and adoption by the meeting.

The Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, United States Senator from New Jersey, then submitted the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the temperance reformation is fundamental in its influence, upon all the great enterprizes, which have for their object, the intellectual elevation, the moral purity, the social happiness, and the immortal prospects of mankind.”

And in support of it, he said—

MR. CHAIRMAN—I could not better classify the great interests, which are involved in this momentous subject, than is done for me by the resolution, with which I have been furnished. I beg leave to accompany it, with a few remarks—and first, as to the influence of the temperance reformation upon the intellectual elevation of mankind. The use of ardent spirits, has in no one of its countless evils, been more humiliating to our race, than in the intellectual debasement of our fellow-men. Indeed, Sir, very few of us, can escape reproach here. For we have tolerated a practice, that invades the shelf of the Apothecary—that has taken down one of its active poisons, to introduce among the daily habits of society; and to give it a place among the rites of hospitality. We have suffered this practice to destroy the firmest principles of social order—and to blast the fairest hopes. It has pushed its encroachments, by gradual but sure advances, through every class and condition of society, from the nursery to the judgment hall—from the Senate chamber to the Pulpit. It has struck the loftiest and proudest, and gathered its bloody trophies, with indiscriminate rapacity—and, Mr. Chairman, that we should so long, not only calmly witness these desolations, but connive

at, and help on, the ravages of intemperance—nay, Sir, that we should join in the conspiracy against *ourselves*—and bare our own bosoms, as if to receive the arrow, that was thirsting for our life, is one of the flagrant contradictions in the human character, which no philosophy but that of the Bible, can explain. The direct and dreadful influence of ardent spirit, is to debase and enslave the mind. Power and chains may enslave the body, and leave the spirit free—but this relentless tyrant, smites the soul. Do you ask for proof? see yonder bloated, staggering victim, urging his trembling steps to the grog-shop—mark him, as the death dealing grocer, measures out his glass. The wretched man knows that his poor body must soon sink under such hard service—he knows, that disease and death are mingled in the gill cup—that the future for him, is woful in prospect, and he feels the present, to be utter misery. Perhaps, for a moment, he may relent—perhaps a gush of sensibility, may quicken the life blood at the heart, but it is too late—there is no strength in his purposes—there is no penitence in his tears—he drinks down the fatal liquid, that hurries him on to the retributions of eternity—where, Sir, in all the woes that afflict humanity, can be found a more pitiable bondage?

The influence of this habit is not less destructive of moral purity. All vice is necessarily of this tendency, there is none certainly, more so, than intemperance. For it not only pollutes the fountains of sentiment, but every indulgence impairs the strength of the will, and the vigour of the understanding—all the noble aspirations that prompt to elevated enterprize and manly conduct, sink before this degrading custom.

Among the earlier fruits of intemperate drinking, is its fatal inroads upon a man's self-respect. He soon loses the sense of shame—and when this hand-maid of virtue departs, you may see him not only drink, but stagger, without emotion. The resolution which I have read, also regards the bearing of this blessed enterprize on the social happiness of mankind—and Mr. Chairman, we well know how wide spread and fatal have been the ravages of this vice in this most interesting of all departments. Sir, it withers all the charities, that are garnered up in home—no bond so sacred—no pledge so dear—no duty so weighty, that it will not assail and sunder. It is a moloch that riots on tears. It makes war upon all the tender relations of father, husband, son, and brother—ah! Sir, could we look into the secret chambers of the soul, and witness the depth of that agony which heaves the bosom—could we count those scalding tears, of the once happy wife, as she retreats to weep alone over all the rejection, estrangement, and cruel rudeness of the man, who had been the delight of her youth, we should require no further argument, to dissuade us forever, from a practice, that leads to such bitter results. But

Sir, all other consequences bear no comparison with those, which reach our immortal prospects—I invoke no argument here—the records of inspiration conclude this point—“No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven”—and what but such an end, can be, must be, the issue of such a life? Excess, debauchery, the abuse of reason and the perversion of all the moral powers of the soul, prepare it, for the habitation of the worm that never dies—and yet the drunkard, will venture all this—approach him, in his cups, with an admonition from eternity—tell him of death and its tremendous issues—he braves it all—a thousand thunders could not move him. The language of his conduct is, living or dying, right or wrong, I will hold on, and rush upon the perils of a lost soul.

Such are some of the evils that for generations past, the use of ardent spirits has brought upon society. But, Mr. Chairman, we have cause for grateful acknowledgments to the Father of mercies, that the spell is broken—the delusion has been struck by the light of truth, and its deformity exposed.

It will be profitable to know, that the power of personal example, with the blessing of God, has been the honored agent, in emancipating such multitudes of our fellow citizens from this bondage to a debasing appetite—Sir, personal example brought it in, and this alone can drive it out.

For the sake of others, we are most sacredly bound to exert its influence. It is a large portion of our talents given to be improved, as we shall answer it on our last trial—we cannot get away from the influence of our example, and it is constantly sending forth its arguments to sustain the cause or impair the principles of virtue. Sir, I beg every member, to put the question to his own heart—“can I not forego a momentary, miserable gratification to preserve or rescue others from destruction?” Mr. Chairman, when such immense interests are involved—when our country implores us to interpose our example, and consecrate our influence, to afford light and energy to the progress of this scheme of mercy, if we love that country can we refuse? I trust not.

The Hon. FELIX GRUNDY, United States Senator from Tennessee, then rose and said, that he had been highly gratified and even delighted with the meeting. But, said Mr. G. let us not stop here. Let the facts and arguments which have here been presented, go out from this place over the land. Let them be printed and circulated universally. Let it be seen by the whole American people, that men in high places, men whom the people have elevated to represent them in the Congress of the United States, are the friends, the patrons, and the active, zealous, and persevering promoters of the cause of temperance. Let them see that this bless-

sed cause has taken possession, even of the Capitol, and that it will hold possession: and from this elevated spot, this stronghold of liberty, will extend itself over the whole country. He then expressed his readiness to aid in publishing the addresses which had been delivered and in their circulation through the land.

On the 26th of February, the day appointed by the American Temperance Society for simultaneous meetings in all the cities, towns, and villages in the United States, a meeting of members of Congress was holden, according to appointment, at the Senate Chamber, for the purpose of forming a Congressional Temperance Society.

CONSTITUTION AND OFFICERS

OF THE

American Congressional Temperance Society.

Pursuant to previous arrangement, a number of Members of Congress and others, friendly to the cause of Temperance, assembled in the chamber of the Senate of the United States, on the evening of the 26th February, 1833.

The Hon. WM. WILKINS, was called to the Chair, and WALTER LOWRIE, appointed Secretary.

The meeting was opened by prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Proudft.

The Hon. THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN submitted for consideration, the following constitution, which having been read and considered, was unanimously adopted.

As the use of Ardent Spirit, is not only unnecessary, but injurious, as it tends to produce pauperism, crime, and wretchedness, and to hinder the efficacy of all means for the intellectual, and moral benefit of society, and also to endanger the purity and permanence of our free institutions, and as one of the best means for counteracting its deleterious effects, is the influence of *United Example*: Therefore, we, members of Congress and others, recognizing the principle of abstinence from the use of Ardent Spirit, and from the traffic in it, as the basis of our Union, do hereby agree to form ourselves into a society, and for this purpose adopt the following Constitution, viz:

Article 1. This Society shall be called *The American Congressional Temperance Society*.

Article 2. The object of this Society shall be by example, and by kind moral influence, to discountenance the use of Ardent Spirit, and the traffic in it, throughout the community

Article 3. Members of Congress, and all who have been members of Congress, officers of the United States government, civil and military, and heads of departments, who practically adopt the great principles of this Society, may, by signing the constitution, become members; and any former member of Congress, or other person entitled to membership, may be admitted, on addressing to the Secretary of this Society, a letter expressive of his desire to be considered a member.

Article 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer and Auditor, who shall be chosen annually, and who shall perform the duties usually assigned to such officers, and who shall continue in office until others are elected.

Article 5. The Society shall annually appoint five persons, who, together with the officers of the Society, shall constitute an executive committee; three of whom shall form a quorum, and who shall from time to time take such

measures, as shall be adapted to render this Society most extensively useful to the country.

Article 6. There shall be an annual meeting, at such time during the sessions of Congress, as the committee may appoint; and the president, and in his absence one of the vice presidents, at the request of the committee, may at any time call a special meeting of the Society.

Article 7. The constitution may be altered by a recommendation of the executive committee, and a vote of two-thirds of the members present at any annual meeting.

A committee of three having been appointed for that purpose, reported the following list of officers, who were duly chosen, agreeably to the 4th and 5th articles of the Constitution, viz:

PRESIDENT.

Hon. LEWIS CASS, Secretary of War.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Hon. SAMUEL BELL,	New Hampshire,
GIDEON TOMLINSON,	Connecticut,
JOHN REED,	Massachusetts,
LEWIS CONDUCT,	New Jersey,
WILLIAM WILKINS,	Pennsylvania,
THOMAS EWING,	Ohio,
FELIX GRUNDY,	Tennessee,
JOHN TIPTON,	Indiana,
DANIEL WARDWELL,	New York,
JAMES M. WAYNE,	Georgia.

SECRETARY.

WALTER LOWRIE, Secretary Senate U. S.

TREASURER

Hon. E. WHITTLESEY, Ohio.

AUDITOR.

Hon. W. W. ELLSWORTH, Connecticut.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Hon. THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN,	New Jersey,
ARNOLD NAUDAIN,	Delaware,
JOHN BLAIR,	Tennessee,
GEORGE N. BRIGGS,	Massachusetts,
ELEUTHEROS COOK,	Ohio.

The meeting then adjourned.

WM. WILKINS, *Chairman.*

WALTER LOWRIE, *Secretary.*





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